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Economic Expansion In San Francisco Since 1994

May 1998 Report



Submitted to: *San Francisco Department of Human Services
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Executive Summary

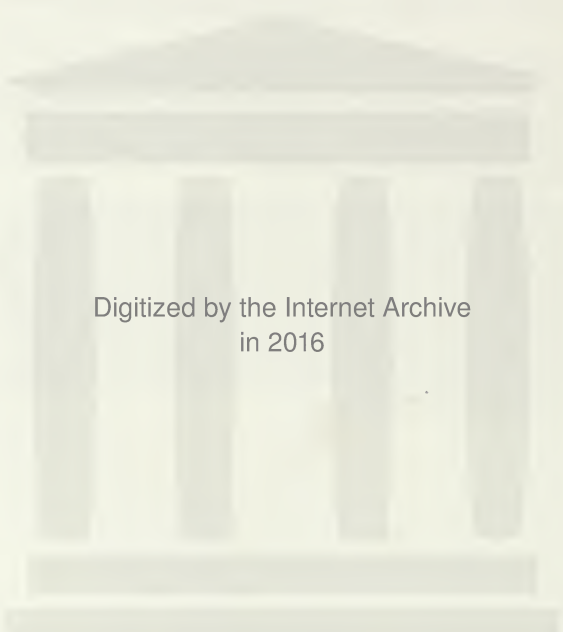
- Over 1.2 million jobs have been created in California since 1993.
- Over 260,000 jobs have been created in the S.F. Bay Area since 1993.
- Over 35,000 jobs have been created in the City of San Francisco since 1994.
- The unemployment rate for San Francisco residents in March 1998 was 3.5%, down from 7.0% in 1993.
- Almost 24,000 of the jobs created in San Francisco since 1994 have been in service sector office employment (accounting, advertising, management consulting, engineering, architecture, law, data processing, multimedia, etc.), representing over two-thirds of all jobs created in the city.
- Between 1,000 and 4,000 each of new jobs created in San Francisco since 1994 have been in such industrial sectors: as Health, Education, Retail Trade, Construction, Public Utilities, Finance and Insurance, and Hotels.
- Almost 8,000 jobs have been created for Managers and Executives in San Francisco since 1994.
- About 6,000 jobs have been created in Administrative Support positions in San Francisco since 1994.
- About 5,000 jobs have been created for Professionals, and about 3,000 jobs have been created for lawyers in San Francisco since 1994.
- Over 2,000 jobs have been created in Cleaning and Custodial positions in San Francisco since 1994.

I. Introduction

This report is the first in a series of three reports that will be submitted under contract to the Department of Human Services, City and County of San Francisco. The subject of the series is the overall San Francisco employment environment and its capacity to create jobs in industries and occupations that can most easily absorb TANF recipients with relatively low skills, work experience, and educational attainment. This information should be useful to the Department in its efforts to direct TANF recipients to actual jobs and/or effective training programs.

This first report addresses the employment economy of San Francisco as a whole since 1990, with particular attention paid to the last three years. It does not specifically single out recent employment patterns affecting low income, low skilled workers, but instead provides a broad picture of labor market conditions facing all workers in San Francisco. The second report in this series will focus more narrowly on the labor market conditions and employment patterns of low income, low skilled workers since 1990. The third and final report in this series will focus on providing forecasts of employment growth over the next five years in industries and occupations most likely to absorb low income, low skilled workers.

The first section of this report considers the changing macroeconomic conditions in the U.S. economy as a whole during the 1990's and how this has affected employment in California and in the San Francisco Bay Area. The report then goes on to consider the recent overall employment trends for jobs located in the City and County of San Francisco. In this section the last two years of rapid job growth in San Francisco is compared with the most recent previous period of rapid job growth in the 1970's. The report next considers labor force characteristics: the employment and unemployment conditions facing the actual residents who live in San Francisco as opposed to jobs that are located in San Francisco. The report next goes on to consider recent employment trends within the broad industrial sectors of San Francisco's economy to determine in which sectors jobs have been growing. Finally, the report considers employment trends within the broad occupational categories of persons employed in San Francisco's economy to determine in which occupations have been expanding.

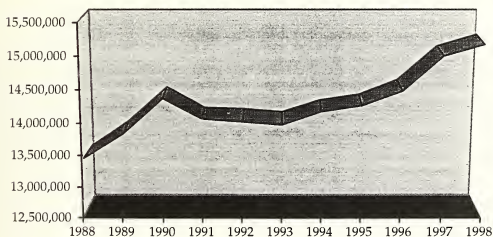


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II. The National Economy in the 1990's and its Employment Effect on California and the S.F. Bay Area

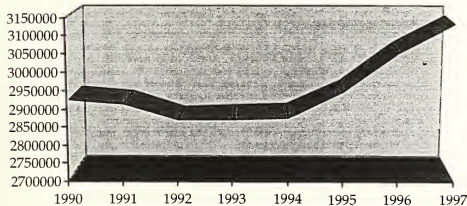
In the 1990's, the U.S. economy has experienced one of the longest sustained economic expansions of the post-war period. Following the 1990-1991 recession, the nation's economy has grown steadily for the last seven consecutive years. Since 1995, this expansion has picked up additional steam, and Americans are now seeing some of the best overall macroeconomic conditions since the 1960's. Employment levels are at an all-time high. The unemployment rate has been below 5% for a year, which is its lowest level since the early 1970's. The inflation rate has been below 2% for the last two years. For the first time since the mid-1960's, the country has simultaneously experienced low inflation and low unemployment. Real personal income, adjusted for inflation, has risen in each of the last three years, indicating real increases in living standards for many Americans. Further, as far as economists are able to tell from their mid-1998 vantage point, the expansion is on track to continue for at least the next twelve months.

**Total Employment in California
1988 - 1998**



In California and in the San Francisco Bay Area in particular, the effects of this economic expansion have been strongly pronounced since 1994. The 1990-1991 national recession hit California with unusual severity, and its effects lingered well into 1993. An unusual set of economic circumstances combined to produce a deeper and more prolonged recession in California than in the rest of the nation. These circumstances included: federal cutbacks in defense procurements, a sectoral slump in Silicon Valley, a round of military base closings, the effects of corporate downsizing, etc. As the figure below indicates, statewide employment finally began to grow again in 1994. By 1996, statewide employment had returned to its 1990 pre-recession level, and since then, has continued to grow steadily. Despite this expansion in employment, unemployment remains a worse problem in California as a whole than in the rest of the nation. Since 1992, California's unemployment rate has been from 1.0 to 2.5% higher than the national rate. In March 1998, for instance, the statewide unemployment rate stood at 6.0%, whereas the national rate stood at just 4.7%.

Total Employment in S.F. Bay Area 1990 - 1997



In the San Francisco Bay Area, the loss of jobs due to the 1990-91 recession was not as severe as in the state as a whole. Some of the important factors driving statewide performance were less pronounced locally. As the figure above indicates, employment in the Bay Area declined between 1990 and 1992. The next two years, 1993 and 1994 were almost completely flat, but very strong employment growth occurred in 1995 and has not tapered off since. In 1995 alone, the Bay Area economy produced as many jobs as were lost during the previous four years. Unlike the state as a whole, unemployment has tended to be lower in the Bay Area than in the U.S. as a whole. Therefore, unemployment rates in the Bay Area have typically been 2 to 3% lower than in California as a whole. For instance, in March 1998, the unemployment rate in California stood at 6.0%, whereas in the Bay Area, it stood at just 3.4%, below the national rate of 4.7%.

Total Employment Growth and Growth Rates in S.F. Bay Area 1990 - 1997

Year	Total Employment	Total Employment Growth	Total Employment Growth Rate
1990	2,918,300		
1991	2,906,900	-11,400	-0.39%
1992	2,860,100	-46,800	-1.61%
1993	2,863,200	3,100	0.11%
1994	2,868,600	5,400	0.19%
1995	2,937,900	69,300	2.42%
1996	3,048,100	110,200	3.75%
1997	3,124,800	76,700	2.52%

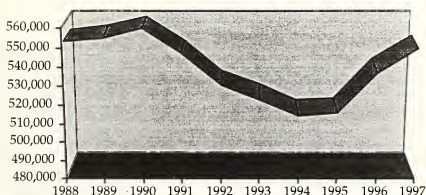
Source: California Employment Development Department.

As the table on the preceding page indicates, since 1994, over 250,000 jobs have been added to the Bay Area economy. In terms of growth rates, recent employment growth has far outstripped employment declines earlier in the decade. For instance, while about 1.6% of total jobs were lost from 1991 to 1992, each of the last three years between 1994 and 1997, employment growth has been 2.5% or higher. Today, there are over 185,000 more jobs in the Bay Area than there were in 1990.

III. Recent Employment Trends in the City of San Francisco

Someone once said that a rising tide lifts all boats, but not all boats equally. This has clearly been the case with the manner in which the national economic expansion has affected San Francisco's employment economy. As the figure below indicates, the 1990-1991 national recession dealt a particularly severe blow to the city's employment economy. Between 1990 and 1995, over 46,000 jobs were lost in all. To put this sharp decline in context, for 1992, over 42% of

**Total Employment in San Francisco County
1988 - 1997**



**Total Employment Growth
and Growth Rates in San Francisco County 1990 - 1997**

Year	Total Employment	Employment Growth	Employment Growth Rate
1988	552,300	900	0.16%
1989	555,900	3,600	0.65%
1990	559,000	3,100	0.56%
1991	546,800	-12,200	-2.18%
1992	526,900	-19,900	-3.64%
1993	521,500	-5,400	-1.02%
1994	512,200	-9,300	-1.78%
1995	513,300	1,100	0.21%
1996	535,100	21,800	4.25%
1997	548,000	12,900	2.41%

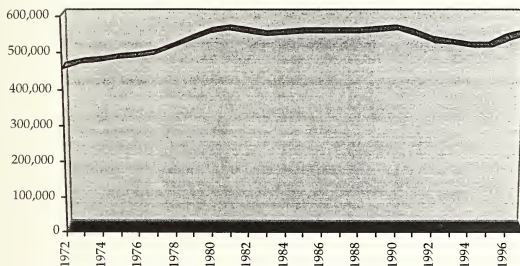
Source: California Employment Development Department.

the total jobs lost in the nine-county S.F. Bay Area were lost in San Francisco County alone. San Francisco continued to shed jobs until 1995, two full years after California and the Bay Area had begun to recover.

Since 1996, however, the economic recovery has been quite robust and the city's economy has roared back. As the figure and table above indicate, most of the jobs lost during the preceding five years were gained back again during the banner years of 1996 and 1997. In terms of growth rates, employment grew by 4.25% in 1996 and outstripped that of the Bay Area as a whole (at just 3.75%). The 2.4% growth experienced in 1997 was very respectable. The most recent employment estimates indicate that in March 1998, the city's employment level has exceeded the 553,000 mark. If employment growth for the rest of this year were to continue at its current pace, all of the city's jobs lost during the steep decline of the early 1990's will have been gained back by the end of the year.

Even though the city's economy has recently been able to produce jobs at a very rapid pace, we might ask if this pace is sustainable. In other words, does the city have the physical and labor force capacity to see employment grow significantly beyond the 560,000 level? To address this question, we need to consider how employment has changed in San Francisco over a longer stretch of time.

**Total Employment San Francisco County
1972 - 1997**



The figure above indicates that there has been four separate phases of the city's employment economy since 1972. During the first phase, between 1972 and 1981, the city added over 106,000 jobs from around 450,000 to around 560,000. During this phase of rapid expansion, employment grew at an average annualized rate of 2.6%. This was the period during which significant amounts of new office space came on-line as many high rise office towers were completed in the Financial District. In other words, the city was able to accommodate over 100,000 new jobs because there was an expanding physical capacity to house employment within the city.

The second phase, from 1981 to 1990, shows a relatively flat level of employment. The 1981-1982 recession caused employment to decline by about 18,000 jobs by 1983. During the subsequent seven years between 1983 and 1990, employment slowly increased back to the 560,000 level.

Altogether, the economy suffered a net loss of 3,000 jobs between 1981 and 1990. Toward the end of this period, Proposition M passed (in 1987), and placed an effective moratorium on new high rise office development downtown. This was also a time during which many back office jobs in finance, communications, and public utilities were transferred to lower cost employment sites in the rest of the Bay Area.

The third phase, from 1990 to 1994, saw the sharp employment decline resulting from the 1990-1991 recession and its aftermath. As covered in more detail above, the city lost almost 47,000 jobs during these four years, at an annualized rate of - 2.09%.

Finally, the fourth phase, from 1994 to present, includes the employment increase over the past several years. This rapid employment growth somewhat mirrors that that occurred during the 1970's. For example, the annualized rate of employment growth over the last three years has been 2.33%. This compares favorably to the annualized growth rate of 2.6% that occurred from 1972 to 1981. The most notable difference, of course, is the absence of any new office space or other physical facilities to house new employment coming on-line in today's economy. While some additional office construction is underway and more is on the drawing boards, there will be less than in the 1970's, and still some time away from actually housing employment.

**Total Employment Growth
and Growth Rates During Four Phases
San Francisco County 1972 - 1997**

	Total Employment	Employment Growth	Annualized Employment Growth Rate
Phase I			
1972	455,400		
1981	562,000	106,600	2.60%
Phase II			
1981	562,000		
1990	559,000	-3,000	-0.07%
Phase III			
1990	559,000		
1994	512,200	-46,800	-2.09%
Phase IV			
1994	512,200		
1997	548,000	35,800	2.33%

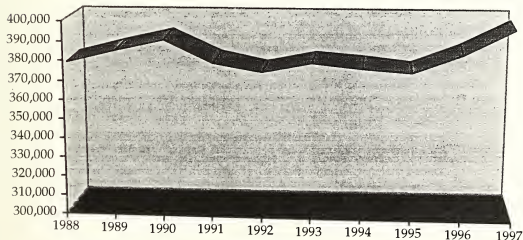
Source: California Employment Development Department.

IV. Recent Labor Force Trends In the City of San Francisco

All of the employment data presented so far have been organized according to place-of-work rather than place-of-residence. In other words, we have considered how many job sites are physically located in San Francisco, the Bay Area, California, etc., regardless of where the workers who fill these jobs happen to reside. For large geographic regions (California, the Bay Area), this distinction is not very important since the vast majority of workers work in the same large geographic region where they live. For small geographic units, however, like San Francisco, this distinction becomes important since many people working in the city commute from outlying counties, and some city residents commute to jobs in outlying counties. For example, we saw that there were 548,000 jobs in San Francisco in 1997, but we did not know how many of these jobs were filled by residents of San Francisco and how many were filled by commuters. In 1990, U.S. Census data revealed that about 55% of San Francisco's jobs were filled by city residents, while the remaining 45% were filled by commuters from the rest of the Bay Area. Additionally, over 10% of employed residents living in San Francisco commuted to jobs in outlying Bay Area counties.

Labor force data is specifically organized according to place-of-residence. In other words, it measures persons employed (or unemployed) from the geographical standpoint of where they live, regardless of where they happen to work. For example, these figures reveal that about 396,100 persons living in San Francisco in 1996 were employed, but we do not know exactly how many of them worked in San Francisco and how many commuted to jobs in other Bay Area counties. By looking at labor force data, we are able to get a more precise view of employment conditions facing the actual residents of San Francisco.

**Employment of San Francisco Residents
1988 - 1997**

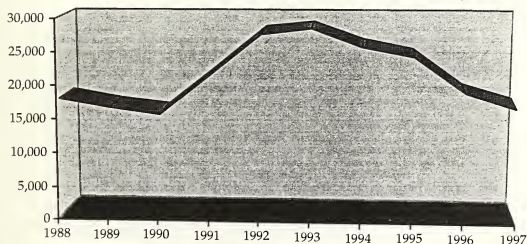


The figure above indicates that the employment pattern for residents of San Francisco closely approximated the employment patterns for jobs located within San Francisco. San Francisco resident help approximately 16,000 fewer jobs in 1992 than in 1990. This 16,000 jobs represents about 48% of the 37,000 jobs lost in the city between 1990 and 1992. Comparing this to the 1990 Census finding that about 55% of jobs located in San Francisco are filled by city residents,

suggests that job losses in the city due to the recession fell slightly harder on commuters than on city residents.

The figure below shows unemployment levels for San Francisco residents during this same period. As we would expect, the level of unemployment rose sharply between 1990 and 1993, from around 15,000 to around 28,000. Since 1993, unemployment levels have fallen steadily. The most recent figure, for March 1998, has unemployment at 14,700, slightly below its 1990 level.

**Unemployment of San Francisco Residents
1988 - 1997**



**Employment, Unemployment, and Unemployment Rates
for San Francisco Residents 1988 - 1998***

Year	Employed	Unemployed	Unemployment Rate
1988	377,600	17,600	4.45%
1989	383,900	16,400	4.10%
1990	389,900	15,400	3.80%
1991	378,400	21,400	5.35%
1992	373,800	27,600	6.88%
1993	378,600	28,500	7.00%
1994	376,300	25,800	6.42%
1995	374,000	24,200	6.08%
1996	383,200	18,900	4.70%
1997	396,100	16,700	4.05%
1998	396,800	14,700	3.57%

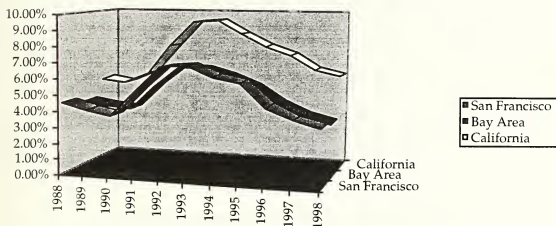
*All figures are annual averages except 1998 which is for March 1998.

Source: California Employment Development Department.



The unemployment rate is calculated by dividing the level of unemployment by the sum of the employment and unemployment levels (called the labor force). As the table above indicates, the unemployment rate for city residents rose from under 4.0% in 1990 to 7.0% in 1993. Since 1993, the unemployment rate has fallen until in March, it had reached 3.57%. As the figure below indicates, the unemployment rate for San Francisco residents very closely approximates the unemployment rate for Bay Area residents as a whole. Throughout the 1990's, these have each been several percentage points under the unemployment rate for all California residents.

**Unemployment Rates in San Francisco,
the S.F. Bay Area, and California
1988 - 1998**





V. Recent Employment Trends

In the City of San Francisco

By Broad Industrial Sector

We have shown that overall employment has grown rapidly over the last several years in San Francisco, but how has this growth been distributed across to the city's industrial sectors? Which sectors have seen increasing at faster and at slower rates? Have any actually declined? The table below shows employment for the last four years broken down by the city's most important industrial sectors. These sectors are ranked according to the overall size of employment within the sector in 1994.

The largest sector, Services For Business, includes employers in many of the business related service industries located in the Financial District: managerial consulting, engineering and architecture, accounting, law, advertising, data processing (including multimedia), personnel services, etc. Since the Financial District serves as a business service center to businesses located throughout the Bay Area and beyond, this is the largest and most important industrial sector in the city's employment economy. The next largest sector is Government. In addition to City employees, this includes many state and federal offices located in the city. Other large industrial sectors employing at least 50,000 include: Retail Trade, Health, Education, and Non-Profits, and Finance and Insurance (also largely located in the Financial District).

The table below shows that the largest sector, Services For Business, grew by over 20,000 jobs, but that most of the other large sectors grew only slightly (Retail Trade, Health, Education and Non-Profits, Finance and Insurance) or even declined slightly (Government).

Total Employment by Broad Industrial Sector in San Francisco County 1994 - 1997

Broad Industrial Sector	1994	1995	1996	1997
<i>San Francisco Total</i>	512,900	513,700	535,600	548,483
Services For Business	86,131	88,451	102,545	110,034
Government	81,900	79,400	78,900	79,363
Retail Trade	72,200	73,500	74,900	74,920
Health, Education, Social Services, Non-Profits	57,881	58,872	60,602	61,938
Finance & Insurance	56,582	55,315	57,088	57,748
Manufacturing	35,900	35,600	36,000	36,270
Wholesale Trade	22,300	22,800	22,400	22,663
Construction	10,514	10,967	12,418	13,801
Services For Individuals	24,187	24,677	23,954	23,231
Transportation	18,900	17,700	17,700	17,720
Hotels & Lodging	18,100	18,400	18,600	19,119
Real Estate	10,419	10,185	10,512	10,633
Communication	8,649	8,353	8,846	8,977
Public Utilities (Gas, Electric, Disposal)	7,551	7,947	9,354	10,041
Mining	1,086	1,133	1,282	1,425
Agriculture, Forest, Fisheries	600	400	500	599

Source: California Employment Development Department

The table below shows total employment growth between 1994 and 1997 broken down by broad industrial sector. In addition, it shows which proportion of the entire 35,583 jobs that were gained in San Francisco during this period were gained within each particular sector. For instance, employment in Services For Business increased by 23,902 and this represented over 67% of all employment growth in the city. In other words, over two-thirds of all jobs created in the city during the recent expansion have been in business related services primarily located in the Financial District. The sector gaining the second highest number of jobs was Health, Education, and Non-Profits, which increased by over 4,000 jobs, representing over 11% of total San Francisco employment gain. Construction, Retail Trade, Public Utilities, Finance and Insurance, and Hotels all increased by between 1,000 and 4,000 jobs each. Each of the other sectors increased by less than 1,000, and Services For Individuals, Transportation, and Government all saw job declines.

**Employment Growth and Annual Pay
by Broad Industrial Sector
in San Francisco County
1994 - 1997**

	1994-1997 Total Employment Growth	Sector's Percent of County's Growth	Average 1994 Pay*
Broad Industrial Sector			
<i>San Francisco Total</i>	35,583		\$34,924
Services For Business	23,902	67.16%	\$38,811
Health, Education, Social Services, Non-Profits	4,057	11.40%	\$27,514
Construction	3,287	9.24%	\$37,416
Retail Trade	2,720	7.64%	\$18,059
Public Utilities (Gas, Electric, Waste Disposal)	2,490	7.00%	\$40,093
Finance & Insurance	1,166	3.28%	\$56,568
Hotels & Lodging	1,019	2.86%	\$20,898
Manufacturing	370	1.04%	\$32,372
Wholesale Trade	363	1.02%	\$40,328
Mining	339	0.95%	\$66,548
Communication	329	0.92%	\$47,093
Real Estate	215	0.60%	\$30,919
Agriculture, Forest, Fisheries	-1	0.00%	\$25,321
Services For Individuals	-956	-2.69%	\$21,519
Transportation	-1,180	-3.31%	\$40,093
Government	-2,537	2.48%	N.A.

*1994 Annual Payroll Divided by Employment Level

*Sources: California Employment Development Department
& County Business Patterns*

VI. Recent Employment Trends In the City of San Francisco By Broad Occupational Category

We have seen that San Francisco's recent employment growth has been unevenly distributed across broad industrial sectors, with over 67% of it occurring in Services for Business, largely concentrated in the downtown Financial District. Another interesting and related question is how has this growth been distributed across to the city's occupational categories? However one might define occupations, which ones have been increasing at faster and at slower rates? Have any actually declined? The table on the next page shows employment estimates for the last four years broken down by a set of broad occupational categories developed in a previous research project¹ for San Francisco using 1990 Census Data. Hundreds of specific census occupational titles were grouped into the 24 categories that appear in the table on the next page.

These estimates were arrived at by taking the 1990 occupational distribution within each broad industrial sector (from the 1990 U.S. Census) and applying these same proportions for each of the years shown below. This method does not allow for changes in the use of particular occupations within industries since 1990, so these estimates are likely to include some error from this source. However, there has been no city-wide survey of occupations conducted since the 1990 census. No other employment data by occupation has been collected on a city-wide basis since 1990. All in all, applying the Census occupational proportions to the more recent data by industry available from the California Employment Development Department does provide us with the best available picture of the occupational employment changes occurring since 1990.

The table on the next page ranks these occupational categories according to the overall size of employment within the category in 1994. The largest category, Managers and Executives, includes many of the same employers found in the business related service industries located in the Financial District discussed above: managerial consulting, engineering and architecture, accounting, law, advertising, data processing (including multimedia), personnel services, etc. This particular industrial sector, which is the city's largest, also employs a relatively high proportion of managers and executives. The next largest sector is Administrative Support, administrative positions also largely concentrated in the downtown. Other occupational categories employing between 20,000 and 40,000 include: Professions, Sales (one category to businesses, other to retail customers), and Food Preparation. All other occupational categories had less than 20,000 persons employed.

The table on the next page shows that the three largest occupational categories increased the most: there were over 8,000 more Managers and Executives, over 6,000 new Administrative Support workers, and over 5,000 new Professionals within this four year period. Other occupational categories grew as well, but by smaller amounts.

The final table shows the total level of employment growth within each occupational category, as well as the percent of all employment increase that occurred within each particular occupational category. For example, there was an increase of 7,965 managers and executives, and this represented 22.71% of the total increase in San Francisco Employment.

¹ *San Francisco's Employment Rollercoaster: A Report on the City's Employment Economy From 1980 to 2000.* Michael J. Potepan & Elisa Barbour. A report submitted to the Mayor's Office of Community Development, City and County of San Francisco, March 1996.

**Total Employment in San Francisco County
by Broad Occupational Category 1994 - 1997**

Broad Occupational Category	1994	1995	1996	1997
<i>San Francisco Total</i>	512,926	513,826	535,627	547,994
Managers & Executives	105,250	105,093	110,311	113,215
Administrative Support	102,146	101,450	105,727	108,188
Professionals	44,634	45,008	48,222	49,967
Sales To Finance & Business Services	37,469	37,502	38,428	38,934
Food Preparation	24,137	24,538	24,955	25,084
Sales To Public	21,794	22,155	22,540	22,560
Drivers & Loaders	18,472	18,216	18,382	18,489
Protective Service Occupations	17,896	17,685	17,847	17,991
Other Technicians	16,024	16,085	17,398	18,101
Lawyers & Judges	15,873	16,082	17,994	19,004
Cleaning & Custodial	14,582	14,769	15,610	16,156
Health Professionals	12,550	12,724	13,128	13,407
Teachers & Educators	11,638	11,809	12,177	12,428
Construction Trades	10,312	10,589	11,600	12,438
Machine Operators	9,487	9,496	9,768	9,930
Mechanics & Repairers	9,473	9,412	9,574	9,636
Garment Occupations	8,359	8,372	8,413	8,434
Personal Service Occupations	7,824	7,892	7,898	7,891
Administrative Supervisors	6,754	6,661	6,834	6,948
Health Assistants	4,973	5,036	5,158	5,247
Mixed Skilled Prod. Occupations	4,430	4,455	4,587	4,661
Precision Production Occupations	4,302	4,302	4,411	4,486
Health Technicians	3,592	3,640	3,754	3,834
Gardening, Fishing, etc.	955	857	912	965

Source: California Employment Development Department, U.S. Census Bureau



**Employment Growth and Median Real Earnings
by Broad Occupational Category
in San Francisco County
1994 - 1997**

Broad Occupational Category	1994-1997 Total Employment Growth	Total Percent of Employment Growth	Median Real 1994 Annual Earnings
<i>Total For San Francisco</i>			\$26,360
	35,068		
Managers & Executives		22.71%	\$37,419
	7,965		
Administrative Support		17.23%	\$22,678
	6,042		
Professionals		15.21%	\$34,017
	5,333		
Lawyers & Judges		8.93%	\$56,695
	3,130		
Construction Trades		6.06%	\$27,675
	2,125		
Other Technicians		5.92%	\$34,017
	2,078		
Cleaning & Custodial		4.49%	\$17,385
	1,573		
Sales To Finance & Business Services		4.18%	\$34,017
	1,466		
Food Preparation		2.70%	\$13,607
	947		
Health Professionals		2.44%	\$38,678
	857		
Teachers & Educators		2.25%	\$27,213
	790		
Sales To Public		2.18%	\$13,607
	766		
Machine Operators		1.27%	\$20,770
	444		
Health Assistants		0.78%	\$14,741
	274		
Health Technicians		0.69%	\$27,213
	243		
Mixed Skilled Prod. Occupations		0.66%	\$28,347
	231		
Administrative Supervisors		0.55%	\$34,017
	194		
Precision Production Occupations		0.52%	\$32,316
	184		
Mechanics & Repairers		0.46%	\$34,575
	162		
Protective Service Occupations		0.27%	\$21,544

	94		
Garment Occupations		0.21%	\$11,159
	75		
Personal Service Occupations		0.19%	\$10,205
	67		
Drivers & Loaders		0.05%	\$21,544
	17		
Gardening, Fishing, etc.		0.03%	\$12,813
	10		

*1990 Census Figure Adjusted To Real 1994 Prices.

Source: California Employment Development Department, U.S. Census Bureau

